

and Democrats. We all worked, and appropriations bills didn't suffer. Appropriations bills were never sent to conference without prior action by this body. Every Senator in this body on both sides of the aisle was allowed to call up his amendment, to offer amendments, as many as he wanted to. Nobody was shut off. We just simply took the time. We stayed here and did the work.

Nobody can say to me, well, we don't have the time to do these bills. Mr. President, we have squandered the time. We have squandered the time already. I used to have bed check votes on Monday mornings at 10 o'clock, bed check votes so that the Senators would be here at 10 o'clock. It didn't go over well with some of the Senators, even on my side. But one leads or he doesn't lead. When one leads, he sometimes runs into opposition from his own side of the aisle. I was not unused to that. But nobody can stand here and tell me that we have fully utilized our time and that we have to avoid bringing bills up in the Senate because Senators will offer amendments to them. I am ready to debate that anytime.

I thank the distinguished Senator. I will yield again if he wishes.

Mr. CRAIG. I have one last question because you have got your ledger there, which is very valuable, making sure that statements are accurate, because I focused on 1987, the year of your majority leadership.

We talked about the bills. I think we confirmed one thing. The Congressional Quarterly Almanac also goes on to say that foreign ops, Agriculture, and Defense were never voted on on the floor and never debated, that they were incorporated in the omnibus bill. So, in fact, the practice you and I are frustrated by was incorporated that year into that large 13-bill omnibus process; is that accurate?

Mr. BYRD. This is accurate. During Senate consideration of the continuing resolution for fiscal year 1987, which contained full year funding for all 13 appropriations bills, more than 100 amendments were offered, debated, and disposed of.

Mr. CRAIG. But my question is: The individual foreign ops, Agriculture, and Defense bills were in fact not individually debated on the floor and amended?

Mr. BYRD. They were in the CR and therefore subject to amendment.

Mr. CRAIG. I see. But not individually brought to the floor? I understand what you are saying. I am not disputing what you are saying about incorporating them into a CR.

Mr. BYRD. The Senator—my distinguished friend from Idaho—misses the point. There may be CRs this year. There have been CRs before.

Mr. CRAIG. Yes.

Mr. BYRD. I have never denied that. The point is that the CRs were called up on the floor, they were debated, and they were amended freely. That is what I am talking about. The Senate had the

opportunity to work its will even if those bills, two or three, were included in the CR. That is the point. The Senate was able to work its will on the CR and to offer amendments and debate and have votes.

Mr. CRAIG. No, that is not the point.

If the Senator will yield, we are not in disagreement. We are not yet to the CR point. If we get there, I have not yet heard any leader on either side suggest that we not amend it. We hope they could be clean. We hope they could go to the President clean, without amendments.

But if we are going to incorporate in them entire appropriations bills that have not yet been debated—and that was my point here with bringing that up; they were in CRs but they were not brought to the floor individually and debated. There was an opportunity—you are not suggesting, you are saying—and it is true—that there was an opportunity at some point in the process for them to be amended.

Mr. BYRD. Yes.

Mr. CRAIG. Yes. We are not in disagreement.

Mr. BYRD. Except this: The Senator says we hope they can go to the President clean. I don't hope that.

Mr. CRAIG. Oh.

Mr. BYRD. No, indeed. Never have I hoped that. I would like to have seen a time when Senators didn't want to call up amendments. Maybe I could have gone home earlier. But I have never thought that was a possibility. And I wouldn't hope they would go to the President clean because I think Senators ought to have the opportunity to clean up the bills, to improve them. Surely they are not perfect when they come over from the other body, and Senators ought to be at liberty to call up amendments and improve that legislation. That is the legislative process. Let's improve it.

I thank my colleague.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank the Senator for yielding. You see, we do agree on some things but we also disagree on others. There we have a point of disagreement.

Mr. BYRD. The Senator ought not disagree with me on saying that Senators ought to have an opportunity to call up amendments and that we don't necessarily wish to see clean bills sent to the President. I didn't want to see a clean trade bill sent to the President.

Mr. CRAIG. If the Senator will yield just one last time?

Mr. BYRD. Yes.

Mr. CRAIG. If we are attempting to complete our work on a bill-by-bill basis and we extend our time to do that with a clean CR, simply extending the processes of Government and the financing of Government for another week or two while we debate individual bills—that is what I am suggesting.

If we are going to incorporate other bills, appropriations bills, in the CR, I am not objecting to amendments. I am saying that if we are going to deal with them individually on the floor, as you and I would wish we could and should,

then the CR that extends us the time to do so, in my opinion, should be clean in going to the President so he will not argue or attempt to veto something because we would stick an amendment on it with which he might disagree.

Mr. BYRD. I think we are ships going past one another in the dark, the Senator and I, on this. I am for having full debate, having Senators offer their amendments. Whether or not bills sent to the President are clean, to me, I think, is not a matter of great import. I think the framers contemplated that each House, the House in the beginning on revenue bills and then the Senate on revenue bills by amendment and the House and Senate on other bills, sometimes one House would go first, sometimes the other House would go first except on revenue bills, by practice, appropriations bills.

To me, in the legislative process, the people are getting their just rights, the people are getting what they are entitled to, and the Republic will flourish and the liberties of the people will endure if Senators have an opportunity to debate fully—disagree, agree, offer amendments, have them tabled, have them voted up or down. This Republic will be in a much safer position and in a much better condition if the Senate is allowed to be what the Senate was intended to be by the framers.

I hope the Senator will join with me in protecting this Senate and in doing so will protect the liberties of the people. Protect the Senate. Forget about party once in a while. George Washington warned us against factions and about parties. I have never been such a great party man myself, and the Senator will not find me criticizing the "other side" very often, or the "Republicans" very often. I can do that and have been known to do it, but there are other things more important, and the Senate is one of the other things that is more important. We are talking about the Senate. We are talking about the cornerstone of the Republic. As long as we have freedom to debate in the Senate and freedom to amend, the people's liberties will be secured. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. BYRD. I yield the floor.

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NATIONAL ENERGY SECURITY ACT—MOTION TO PROCEED—Resumed

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now pending is the motion to proceed to S. 2557.

The Senator from North Dakota.

SENATE SCHEDULE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I was listening to the discussion among my colleagues, Senator CRAIG, Senator BYRD, and Senator DASCHLE was here earlier. I thought it would be useful to discuss the concept that has been discussed. In the end, it does not matter